

Message Text

SECRET

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 8413

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM TOON

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, IS
SUBJECT: ISRAEL: AN ASSESSMENT

1. ON THE EVE OF MY DEPARTURE, I WOULD LIKE TO PASS TO YOU MY VIEWS OF THE CURRENT SITUATION IN ISRAEL AND WHAT WE ARE LIKELY TO FACE IN THE MONTHS AHEAD. I WRITE AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF AN EIGHTEEN MONTH TOUR IN THIS COMPLEX PART OF THE WORLD AND A LONG CAREER ON ITS NORTHERN PERIPHERY - SHORTLY TO BE RESUMED.

2. IN MY TIME HERE TWO MAJOR EVENTS HAVE HAD A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON ISRAEL'S RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS AND THE REST OF THE WORLD, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES. THE FIRST OF THESE WAS THE SINAI II AGREEMENT WHICH, AS WE BOTH KNOW, WAS A TERRIFIC PSYCHOLOGICAL WRENCH FOR THE ISRAELI LEADERS. IT IS CLEAR NOW - AND RABIN AND HIS COLLEAGUES AGREE - THAT SINAI II WAS A SUCCESS AND HAS CONTRIBUTED SUBSTANTIALLY TO REDUCING THE DANGERS OF AN ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN FLARE-UP. THE SECOND GREAT EVENT HAS BEEN THE UPHEAVAL IN LEBANON, THE CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH ARE NOT YET CLEAR. WITH THEIR DEEPLY INGRAINED SUSPICIONS OF THEIR NEIGHBORS, THE ISRAELIS ARE AFRAID THAT WHAT WILL EVENTUALLY EMERGE ON THEIR NORTHERN BORDER WILL NOT BE TO THEIR LIKING; THAT IS WHY THEY ARE DETERMINED TO KEEP WHAT THEY REGARD AS HOSTILE FORCES AS FAR FROM THAT BORDER AS POSSIBLE. THERE WAS A THIRD "EVENT" WHICH OCCURRED LAST JULY - THE ENTEBBE

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RAID. BUT ITS IMPACT ON THE LOCAL SCENE WAS MINIMAL,

SINCE THE EXHILARATION FELT IN THE AFTERMATH OF THAT
ASTONISHING OPERATION WAS SHORT-LIVED.

3. THE PRESENT IS IN SOME RESPECTS SIMILAR TO THE PERIOD
WHEN I ARRIVED EIGHTEEN MONTHS AGO. THEN THE ISRAELIS
WERE AWAITING A RENEWAL OF YOUR EFFORTS TO HELP THEM
(OR "ENCOURAGE" THEM) TO REACH AN INTERIM AGREEMENT;
NOW THEY ARE AWAITING WITH SOME TREPIDATION AN INITIATIVE
FROM THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION AND THE PRESSURES THEY
FEEL WE WILL INEVITABLY BRING TO BEAR ON THEM IN
CONNECTION WITH IT. INFORMATION IS BEING SOUGHT AND
POSITIONS ARE BEING STAKED OUT IN ANTICIPATION OF THE
DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE THEY EXPECT TO BE FACED WITH, BUT
THIS TIME THE MORE ACCOMMODATING NOISES HEARD IN ARAB
CAPITALS HAVE THROWN THE ISRAELIS SLIGHTLY OFF STRIDE.
THREATS AND INVECTIVE THEY CAN HANDLE EASILY; SOFTER
TONES FROM THEIR ADVERSARIES GIVE THEM TROUBLE.

4. IF WE CAN RELY ON HIS STATEMENTS, WE HAVE TO
BELIEVE THAT RABIN WOULD NOT BE UNHAPPY WITH AN AMERICAN
INITIATIVE FOR PEACE. I SUSPECT THAT HIS MOTIVES ARE
MIXED IN THIS REGARD, AS ONE WOULD EXPECT FROM A MAN WHO
TRIES TO BE BOTH A STATESMAN AND A POLITICIAN. WITH
AN ELECTION LESS THAN A YEAR AWAY RABIN NEEDS AN ISSUE
ON WHICH TO GO TO THE VOTERS AND WITH WHICH TO OVERCOME
THE INTERNAL THREAT FROM SHIMON PERES. THIS ISSUE
CAN HARDLY BE THAT OF HIS MANAGEMENT OF THE ISRAELI
ECONOMY, WHICH HAS BEEN SOMETHING SHORT OF A SUCCESS,
OR HIS HANDLING OR MISHANDLING OF OTHER INTERNAL
PROBLEMS. THEREFORE A FOREIGN POLICY ISSUE - PERHAPS
RABIN PLAYING DAVID AGAINST THE AMERICAN GOLIATH -
PROBABLY APPEARS DESIRABLE TO HIM FROM A POLITICAL
POINT OF VIEW, AND HE SAID AS MUCH IN HIS RECENT INTER-
VIEW WITH JOE KRAFT. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE PRIME
MINISTER HAS ALSO INDICATED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THAT
HE WANTS AN ERA OF QUIET FOR ISRAEL, TIME WHICH HE
HOPES WOULD BRING FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ENERGY
FIELD AND IN THE ARAB WORLD; HE AS WELL AS ANYONE KNOWS
WHAT INTERNAL TURBULENCE WOULD BE CAUSED BY THE CON-
CESSIONS ISRAEL WOULD BE CALLED UPON TO MAKE IN ANY
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REAL MOVEMENT TOWARD PEACE. IT IS THUS EASY TO QUESTION
THE GENUINENESS OF HIS EXPRESSED DESIRE FOR A MAJOR
EFFORT TOWARD A SETTLEMENT, CERTAINLY AT THIS TIME.

5. THE FOUNDING GIANTS OF ISRAEL (BEN GURION, GOLDA,
SAPIR) HAVE PASSED OR ARE PASSING FROM THE SCENE, AND
THOSE WHO WERE CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH THEM LIKE DAYAN
AND EBAN ARE AT PRESENT WANDERING IN THE POLITICAL

WILDERNESS. RABIN AND PERES, WHILE EVERY BIT AS PRAGMATIC AS THE FOUNDERS, SEEM TO LACK THEIR MESSIANIC VISION AND SENSE OF PURPOSE - OR MAYBE THE ELECTORATE HAS HEARD IT ALL BEFORE. AS TO OTHER POLITICAL LEADERS, THERE ARE FEW STAND-OUTS. BEGIN HAS BEEN AROUND SO LONG THAT HE IS AS MUCH A FIGURE OF HISTORY AS AN ACTIVE POLITICIAN, WHILE PEOPLE LIKE YIGAL YADIN AND ARIK SHARON, WHO MAY HAVE SOME POTENTIAL AS LEADERS, REMAIN TO BE TESTED IN THE POLITICAL ARENA, AND, IN ANY CASE, ARE RANK AMATEURS. RABIN, PERES AND THEIR ASSOCIATES, WHATEVER SHORTCOMINGS THEY HAVE, HAVE SHOWN THEMSELVES ABLE TO TAKE DECISIONS ON THE MAJOR ISSUES OF NATIONAL SECURITY AND TO HAVE THEM ACCEPTED. THEY WILL PROBABLY BE AROUND FOR SOME TIME.

6. LIKE MANY WESTERN COUNTRIES ISRAEL IS FACED WITH SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, PROBLEMS WHICH SEEM TO HAVE A SPECIAL TWIST IN THIS COUNTRY AND, AT TIMES, AN AURA OF HOPELESSNESS ABOUT THEM. NONETHELESS, MY HUNCH IS THAT THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK TODAY IS NOT MUCH BLEAKER THAN WHEN I ARRIVED, THAT IS, I DO NOT FEEL THE COUNTRY IS NEAR COLLAPSE. WHILE THE SITUATION ISRAEL CONFRONTS MIGHT DRIVE AN ORTHODOX ECONOMIST TO CONSIDER A CHANGE OF PROFESSION, MY EXPERIENCE HAS BEEN THAT THESE PEOPLE MANAGE TO MUDDLE THROUGH AND TO KEEP THEIR ECONOMY SPUTTERING ALONG, BUT AT THE PRICE OF INCREASED DEPENDENCE ON U.S. AID. WHAT HAS BECOME EVIDENT IN MY PERIOD IS A WEAKENING OF SOME OF THE UNDERPINNINGS OF THE ECONOMY AND INDEED OF THE SOCIETY ITSELF. THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASE IN SOCIAL TENSIONS AS WITNESSED BY THE CURRENT AND CONTINUING LABOR UNREST; THERE HAVE BEEN SERIOUS SCANDALS, THE RAMIFICATIONS OF WHICH HAVE NOT YET BECOME FULLY EVIDENT; AND ISRAEL'S
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ARABS HAVE RISEN IN SOMETHING APPROACHING REVOLT AGAINST WHAT THEY CONSIDER DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES. THESE AND OTHER SYMPTOMS OF SOCIAL DISCONTENT ARE LEADING IN THIS PRE-ELECTION PERIOD TO RESTLESSNESS WITHIN RABIN'S COALITION AND EVEN TO THREATS TO ITS CONTINUANCE. I BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT RABIN WILL BE ABLE TO HOLD THINGS TOGETHER UNTIL THE ELECTION, BUT HE WILL NEVER BE ABLE TO RELAX IN THIS REGARD.

7. IN THE ABSENCE OF COUNTERPRESSURE IT WILL ALWAYS BE EASIER FOR AN ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER AND GOVERNMENT TO YIELD ON ISSUES WHICH SEEM TO HAVE POPULAR SUPPORT, EVEN THOUGH THEY VIOLATE INTERNATIONAL WISHES AND COMPLICATE THE OVER-ALL PEACEMAKING PROCESS. THE KADOUM SETTLEMENT IS A GOOD EXAMPLE. OVER SEVEN MONTHS

AGO RABIN PROMISED THAT THE ILLEGAL SETTLERS THERE

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM TOON

WOULD "SOON" BE REMOVED. THEY ARE SITTING THERE TODAY AND INCREASING IN STRENGTH. THE PRIME MINISTER FOUND IT EASIER TO PLACATE A SMALL BUT VOCAL SEGMENT OF THE POPULACE RATHER THAN DO WHAT HE KNEW WAS RIGHT. ECONOMIC BELT-TIGHTENING IS ANOTHER EXAMPLE. I HAVE SAID SOME UNPOPULAR THINGS ON THAT SUBJECT, BUT THEY HAD TO BE SAID TO A NATION WHICH HAS COME TO EXPECT A SIZABLE ANNUAL DONATION FROM US. PROMINENT ISRAELIS HAVE TOLD ME THEY WERE IN ABSOLUTE AGREEMENT WITH ME ON THIS ISSUE, YET WHEN CONFRONTED BY LABOR UNION AND OTHER PRESSURES THE GOVERNMENT HAS ALWAYS WATERED DOWN ITS AUSTERITY PROPOSALS. IT IS CLEAR THAT OUR GENEROSITY HAS PERMITTED THE POSTPONEMENT OF PAINFUL, BUT LONG OVERDUE, ECONOMIC DECISIONS.

8. WITH THESE EXAMPLES IN MIND, I HAVE COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT IN THE BROAD FIELD OF SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS AN EFFECTIVE COUNTERPRESSURE TO THE TEMPTATION OF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT TO GIVE IN TO THE EASIEST COURSE CAN ONLY COME FROM THE U.S. APPLYING SUCH PRESSURE IS NOT A SIMPLE MATTER FOR US, AS YOU WELL KNOW, AND IS POSITIVELY PAINFUL FOR THE ISRAELIS; IT WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY SO AS WE ASK THEM TO GIVE UP MORE OF THE OCCUPIED AREAS FOR WHAT THEY CONSIDER TO BE INTANGIBLE RESULTS. THE INTERNAL RHETORIC WILL INCREASE BY DECIBELS, AND VARIOUS FORMS OF REVERSE PRESSURE MAY BE BROUGHT ON US TO SOFTEN OUR PROPOSALS. IN A SENSE,

THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAS ITSELF PARTLY TO BLAME

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BECAUSE IT HAS GONE ALONG WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED AREAS. THE PIONEERS WHO MOVE TO THESE SETTLEMENTS GENERALLY HAVE THE SPIRIT OF ZEALOTS, AND CONSEQUENTLY THEY HAVE FAR MORE POLITICAL CLOUT THAN THEIR NUMBERS WOULD WARRANT. YOU AND I RECALL WHAT THE GUSH EMUNIM DID THE FIRST NIGHT OF YOUR LAST VISIT, AND LESS CAN HARDLY BE EXPECTED OF THEM NEXT TIME.

9. WHERE DOES THIS LEAVE US AS TO PROSPECTS FOR NEGOTIATIONS, AND WHAT SHOULD WE BE DOING WITH THE ISRAELIS?

10. SINCE THE YOM KIPPUR WAR ISRAELI DEPENDENCE ON US HAS INCREASED GREATLY, AND THEY KNOW IT. THIS IN TURN ADDS TO THE LEVERAGE WE CAN BRING TO BEAR ON THEM, IF WE ARE WILLING TO DO SO. WHILE SQUEEZING THEM, WE MUST, OF COURSE, REASSURE THEM OF OUR CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO THEIR SURVIVAL. THIS IS ESSENTIAL IF ONLY FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONS, AND CAN BE DONE BY FREQUENT HIGH-LEVEL VISITS IN BOTH DIRECTIONS, IN STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT AND CABINET OFFICERS, BY THE CONTINUATION OF REASONABLE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, AND BY SUCH OTHER THINGS AS PERIODIC NAVAL VISITS. WITH REGARD TO OUR AID, WE MUST, OF COURSE, CONTINUE HIGH LEVELS OF MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR THE NEXT FEW YEARS AT LEAST, BUT WE SHOULD GRADUALLY DIMINISH IT. OTHERWISE THERE WILL NEVER BE ANY INCENTIVE FOR THE ISRAELIS TO TAKE THE STRINGENT MEASURES THEY MUST TAKE TO PUT THEIR HOUSE IN ORDER. I SEE NO NEED TO REFRAIN FROM LINKING OUR ASSISTANCE TO CERTAIN STEPS ON THEIR PART - THE QUID PRO QUO THEY DREAD SO MUCH. THEY WOULD CERTAINLY LIKE TO IMPLANT THE FEELING THAT WE "OWE" THEM VIRTUALLY UNLIMITED ASSISTANCE, AND THAT IT WOULD BE WICKED OF US TO MAKE ANY DEMANDS ON THEM IN RETURN FOR THIS ASSISTANCE. THIS POINT OF VIEW SHOULD BE REJECTED. THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS SO SERIOUS FOR US, AS WELL AS FOR THEM, THAT WE WILL HAVE TO USE EVERY BIT OF LEVERAGE WE HAVE - AND AID TO ISRAEL IS THE BIGGEST. PLAIN TALK WILL BE REQUIRED HERE AS WELL AS IN WASHINGTON -

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MORE OR LESS ON THE PATTERN I HAVE, UNDER YOUR MANDATE, ESTABLISHED OVER THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS.

11. FINALLY, THERE IS THE QUESTION OF THE NEXT STEPS TOWARD PEACE. RATHER RELUCTANTLY THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC SEEM TO BE COMING AROUND TO THE VIEW THAT SOMETHING WILL HAVE TO BE DONE IN 1977, BUT AS FAR AS I CAN DETERMINE THEY DO NOT HAVE ANY REALISTIC IDEA OF WHAT THAT SOMETHING MIGHT BE. THEY NOW RECOGNIZE, DESPITE EARLIER HOPES, THAT THE EXCUSE OF AN ISRAELI ELECTION IN NOVEMBER IS NOT GOING TO BE GOOD ENOUGH TO CAUSE POSTPONEMENT OF MOMENTUM TOWARD A MIDDLE EAST PEACE NEXT YEAR. MOST ISRAELIS WOULD PROBABLY WELCOME ANOTHER DEUS EX MACHINA LIKE LEBANON (ESPECIALLY IF MORE PLO FIGHTERS WERE ELIMINATED) TO PUT OFF THE DAY WHEN THEY WILL HAVE TO FACE DIFFICULT DECISIONS. THE TONE AND PERSISTENCE OF ARAB AND OTHER STATEMENTS IS BRINGING THEM TO REALIZE, HOWEVER, THAT THEY MIGHT NOT BE GIVEN ANOTHER RESPITE. (AN ISRAELI WRITER RECENTLY LAMENTED IRONICALLY: "IT WAS NOT VERY SPORTING OF SADAT THUS TO INTERFERE WITH OUR MOST CHERISHED TRADITION OF RECENT YEARS: THE POLICY OF 'GAINING TIME.'")

12. OUR PROBLEM WILL BE HOW TO PUT ENOUGH PRESSURE ON THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT TO TAKE THE STEPS IT WILL INEVITABLY HAVE TO TAKE IN REGARD TO TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS WITHOUT DOING SO IN A MANNER THAT BRINGS DOWN THE PRESENT RELATIVELY MODERATE GOVERNMENT AND LANDS THE BLAME ON US. A TALL ORDER, BUT IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT ANYTHING WHICH WOULD REPLACE THE RABIN GOVERNMENT IS LIKELY TO BE MORE DIFFICULT FOR US TO DEAL WITH, CERTAINLY ON THE ISSUES OF TERRITORIAL SETTLEMENT AND PEACE AND PERHAPS ON THE PLO. AS WE FACE THIS PROCESS WE MUST GET A FIX ON WHAT IS DURABLE HERE; THIS IS A TASK FOR THE WASHINGTON EXPERTS, BUT I WOULD CAUTION THEM NOT TO PRESS THE SEPARATE STATE IDEA SINCE MOST ISRAELIS REGARD THIS AS A RECIPE FOR SUICIDE AND I'M NOT SURE THEY AREN'T RIGHT. (IT CAN BE ARGUED THAT A GOVERNMENT LED BY PERES OR EVEN YADIN MIGHT BE ABLE TO TAKE BOLD STEPS LIKE PRESIDENT DE GAULLE DID IN REGARD TO ALGERIA AND PRESIDENT NIXON IN REGARD TO SECRET

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CHINA, BUT IT WOULD NOT BE PRUDENT TO COUNT ON SUCH A TURN OR TO BASE OUR POLICY ON IT.) I HAVE NO FIXED VIEW WHETHER THE NEXT STEP SHOULD BE ANOTHER INTERIM MOVE OR AN ATTEMPT TO ACHIEVE AN END OF THE STATE OF WAR, LET ALONE A FINAL PEACE SETTLEMENT; I AM SKEPTICAL, HOWEVER, THAT ANYTHING "FINAL" IS WITHIN THE REALM OF THE POSSIBLE AT THE PRESENT TIME. IN FACT, I HAVE

ALMOST COME TO THE CONCLUSION AFTER MY MODEST EXPOSURE
TO THE COMPLEXITIES OF THIS TORTURED PART OF THE WORLD
THAT ANYTHING LIKE A FINAL SETTLEMENT CAN COME ONLY
AFTER ANOTHER WAR - A WAR WHICH WOULD BRING OURSELVES
AND THE SOVIETS INTO A POSTURE OF DANGEROUS CON-
FRONTATION AND COMPEL US TO IMPOSE A SOLUTION IN ORDER
TO AVOID A MORTAL CLASH.

13. OBVIOUSLY, WAR CANNOT BE A POLICY OPTION FOR US,
AND, EVEN IF MY GUT FEELING SHOULD IN THE END PROVE
RIGHT, WE MUST MEANWHILE DO WHAT WE CAN TO MOVE TOWARD
A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. I LEAVE HEREWITH A CONVICTION
THAT WHATEVER COURSE WE CHOOSE WE WILL FACE
IMMENSE DIFFICULTIES BUT ALSO THAT THERE IS NO
ADVANTAGE IN DELAYING OR IN SHIRKING WHAT WILL IN-
EVITABLY HAVE TO BE DONE. OUR FRIENDSHIP AND OUR TIES
WITH ISRAEL APPEAR TO ME STRONG ENOUGH TO STAND THE
STRAINS WHICH WILL BE PUT UPON THEM.
TOON

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